

Table of Contents

Introduction by Rep. John Conyers, Jr.	1
Summary	4
I. The Downing Street Minutes and Deception, Manipulation, Torture, Retribution and Coverups in the Iraq War.....	8
A. Chronology: Last Throes of Credibility	8
B. Detailed Findings	13
1. Determination to go to War before Congressional Authorization	13
a. Avenging the Father and Working with the Neo-Cons	14
b. September 11 and its Aftermath: Beating the Drums for War.....	16
c. The Downing Street Minutes and Documentary Evidence of an Agreement to go to War	22
i. Description and Analysis of Various Downing Street Minutes Materials	23
ii. Confirmation and Corroboration of Downing Street Minutes Materials	28
d. Manipulating Public Opinion	32
e. Using the United Nations as a Pretext for War	39
2. Misstating and Manipulating the Intelligence to Justify Pre-emptive War	45
a. Links to September 11 and al Qaeda	51
i. General Linkages Between Iraq and al Qaeda	53
ii. Meeting Between Mohammed Atta and Iraqi Officials.....	57
iii. Iraq Training al Qaeda Members to Use Chemical and Biological Weapons	57
b. Resumed Efforts to Acquire Nuclear Weapons	58
i. General Assertions	59
ii. Claims Regarding Hussein's Son-in-Law.....	61
iii. Statement that Iraq Was Six Months from Obtaining a Nuclear Weapon	62
c. Aluminum Tubes	62
d. Acquisition of Uranium from Niger.....	70
e. Chemical and Biological Weapons.....	75
i. General Assertions Regarding Chemical and Biological Weapons	78
ii. Assertions Regarding Buried Chemical and Other Weapons	79
iii. Assertions Regarding Mobile Biological Weapons	80
iv. Unmanned Aerial Vehicles	82
3. Encouraging and Countenancing Torture and Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment	82
a. Documented Instances of Torture and Other Legal Violations	83
i. Torture and Murder	83

ii. Cruel, Inhuman and Degrading Treatment	86
iii. Other Possible Violations of International Treaties.....	86
b. Bush Administration Responsibility for Torture and Other Legal Violations	88
i. Department of Justice	88
ii. Department of Defense	92
4. Cover-ups and Retribution.....	96
a. The Niger Forgeries and the “Slimming” of Ambassador Wilson and his Family	96
i. Disclosure and Panic	97
ii. Retribution and Damage	99
iii. Delays, Conflicts, and More Lies.....	101
b. Other Instances of Bush Administration Retribution Against its Critics	103
i. Former General Eric Shinseki and Others in the Military	104
ii. Former Secretary of Treasury Paul O’Neill and Economic Adviser Lawrence Lindsey	105
iii. Richard Clarke.....	106
iv. Cindy Sheehan.....	108
v. Jeffrey Kofman.....	109
vi. International Organizations—the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemic Weapons and the IAEA	109
vii. Bunnatine Greenhouse	111
viii. The Central Intelligence Agency and its Employees	112
c. Ongoing Lies, Deceptions and Manipulations	114
i. Efficacy of the Occupation.....	114
ii. Cost of the War and Occupation	118
iii. Ongoing Deceptions Regarding Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Decision to Go to War	119
iv. Impact of the Iraq War on Terrorism.....	123
5. Thwarting Congress and the American Public: The Death of <u>Accountability under the Bush Administration and the Republican-</u> Controlled Congress	123
a. Determination to Go to War Without Congressional Authorization	123
b. Manipulation of the Intelligence to Justify the War.....	125
c. Encouraging and Countenancing Torture.....	127
d. Post-War Cover-Ups and Retribution and More Deceptions	129
II. Unlawful Domestic Surveillance and the Decline of Civil Liberties Under the Administration of George W. Bush	132
A. Chronology: Democracy Without Checks and Balances.....	132
B. Detailed Findings.....	138
1. Domestic Surveillance: Spying On Innocent Americans without Court Approval and Outside of the Law.....	138
a. The warrantless surveillance program violates FISA and the Fourth Amendment, the NSA database program appears to violate	

the Stored Communications Act and the Communications Act of 1934, and the programs have been briefed in violation of the National Security Act.....	138
i. September 11 Use of Force Resolution	139
ii. Inherent Authority as Commander-In-Chief.....	141
iii. Fourth Amendment	144
iv. NSA Domestic Database Program	145
v. Additional Non-Legal Justifications	147
vi. Intelligence Briefings In Violation of the National Security Act.....	150
b. The legal justifications used to justify the NSA programs threaten to establish a constitutionally destabilizing precedent	151
c. President Bush and other high ranking members of the Bush Administration appear to have made a number of misleading statements concerning the NSA programs	153
i. Statements that the government was only intercepting communications involving American citizens pursuant to court approved warrants.	154
ii. Statements that no purely domestic communications were intercepted under the warrantless wiretapping program	156
iii. Statements that the government is not monitoring telephone calls and other communications within the U.S.....	158
iv. Statements that Members of Congress briefed by the Bush Administration had not questioned the legality or appropriateness of the NSA Programs.	160
d. There is little indication the domestic spying programs have been beneficial in the war against terror, while there is a significant risk the programs may be affirmatively harming terrorism prosecutions and tying up law enforcement resources	161
e. The NSA programs appear to have been implemented in a manner designed to stifle objections and dissent within the Administration ...	163
2. Continued Stonewalling of Congress and the American People.....	165
Addendum	170
Analysis	177
Recommendations	194
Conclusion.....	197
Endnotes.....	199
Legal Standards and Authorities	319
Major Reports.....	346